

MARYLAND COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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“Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”

JEFFERSON.

LATEST FROM CAPE PALMAS.

WE have received by Barque Pilot, of Boston, advices from Cape Palmas as late as the fifteenth of May, at which time the colony was in its usual healthy and prosperous condition. Very important advances have recently been made in opening a free communication with the interior tribes. The circumstances which led to this are not a little interesting, and serve to show that African monarchs and statesmen, in the science of diplomacy, are not so very far behind those of Christendom. It will be recollected that in the first purchase of territory at Cape Palmas, the treaty was made with the tribes bordering on the beach, and that no intercourse whatever was held with the chiefs of the interior, who were represented to the colonists as being hostile to the settlement, and averse to free intercourse with it; and they in turn were made to believe that the policy and intent of the government of the colony would prove exceedingly injurious to their country. This double deception has actually been kept up for nearly ten years. That the game should have been successful for a while, before any of the colonists had learned to speak the Grebo language, and all intercourse with the Bush people was through a native interpreter, is not to be wondered at; but, as many colonists have for the past six years understood the language, and have been present at the palavers between the natives and colonists, we are astonished that the deception should not have been sooner discovered; and we must say, that it reflects no great credit upon the capacity and shrewdness of the colonists. Even the murder of Parker, which our readers will recollect was perpetrated by the Barrakah people, a tribe some 8 or 10 miles distant, was instigated by our liege king Freeman and Yellow Will, head man and chief interpreter to the governor; and many other minor palavers between the colonists and Bush people, have been projected and brought about by the natives, in order to perpetuate this misunderstanding. How they got at the truth of the matter and discovered the treachery of Yellow Will, whether by the miscarriage of some plan of his, or by a long train of circumstances, we have not been informed. But the fact is, the mists have cleared away, and instead of being surrounded by a cordon of enemies, the colonists find themselves greeted on every side by warm friends.

Their Bush neighbours, the Barrakahs, Saureekahs, and Boorobohs, are all anxious for free commercial and social intercourse with the colonists, and we doubt not their true interests will prompt them to perpetuate these good feelings. The Saureekahs already have schools established among them by the M. E. mission, and the Barrakahs have already petitioned for the same advantages. Mr. Seyes, the superintendent of the missions, was at Cape Palmas at the time of the sailing of the Pilot, and hoped to be able very soon to supply the principal towns with preachers and teachers.

The LIGHT HOUSE is at last fairly established on the cape, a most prominent and welcome sight to the African voyager. We are not informed of its actual elevation or the magnitude and intensity of the light, but it is distinctly visible off the Garroway Reef full twenty miles to the windward, and off Rockbockah about the same distance to the leeward. This light must save a vast deal of time at least in vessels running down the coast, close in shore, and occasionally a vessel and human life.—What grade in the scale of civilization does the establishment of a light house mark?

The orange trees in the colony are now producing abundantly; the cocoas have blossomed, and the sapotillas are in a thriving condition. We hope daily to receive still later advices.

Below will be seen a communication from Mr. Garrison Draper, containing a notice of a meeting of free coloured people in Govanstown, and the formation of a "Society of Enquiry" to obtain authentic information with regard to the colony of Liberia. The opposition of the free coloured people of Baltimore and its vicinity to Colonization, Liberia, and all interests connected with Africa, is so virulent and unrelenting, that we should consider any thing like the formation of a society for a free and candid inquiry upon the subject, as a hoax or possum game, so often played off in these parts, were it not vouched for by so respectable a man as Mr. Draper. Whether it will amount to any thing we leave time to determine, but certainly the measure is a laudable one, and we will most freely supply the members with a copy of our Journal gratis. If they pursue their enquiry in good faith, they will either become colonizationists, or have better reasons for not being so than most mouthers and railers now have, with old stale snake and Georgia stories. Mr. Draper shall have as much room in our columns as he pleases to occupy, and any one choosing to reply shall have the same privilege.

To the Editor Colonization Journal:

Sir,—At a meeting of free coloured people at Govanstown on Sunday the 6th of the present month, at their usual place of meeting, the Methodist Episcopal Church, Major Anthony Wood of Cape Palmas was present by special request of the authorities of said Church, and was requested to favour the meeting with such statements respecting the colony as he might consider interesting and useful to those present, which he accordingly did, and the association or society whose constitution I send you herewith was at that time formed. Should you see fit to publish it in your journal, you are at liberty to do so. Also should it meet with your approbation to supply each of the members with a copy of your journal gratis, it would be very

acceptable, for that seems to be the only channel by which the information sought for can be obtained.

I would add a few remarks. Within the last twenty years I have given much thought to the project of colonizing Africa with the free people of colour from the United States, and it appears to me that the right course is not pursued to induce them to emigrate, their fancy and senses are appealed to, and not their judgment. They are persuaded that by going to Africa, they can enjoy a life of ease and luxury, instead of labour and hardships. The object appears, to persuade and coax them to go. I think the solution of one or two questions would go far towards settling the matter of our *rights* in this country. What were the motives which induced the English, Scotch, Irish, French, and other European nations to emigrate to this country? Did they come of their own free will, and did they acquire according to the customs and usages of civilized nations, legal possession of the territory? Then I would ask, what was the condition and prospects of the Africans on coming to this country? Did they come of their own accord, and did they acquire legal possession of the territory? These are simple enquiries, but I think not the less important, and the answers to them will go far towards settling the strifes upon this subject. If you see fit to notice the few remarks here made, and desire it, I will hereafter pursue the subject further.

Your obedient servant,

GARRISON DRAPER,
Forrest St. Old Town.

PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION

Whereas a settlement has been effected on the west coast of Africa by free persons of color, and manumitted slaves from the State of Maryland, and whereas, various and conflicting reports are in circulation respecting the moral and political condition of that colony in consequence of a want of any correct and systematic means of correspondence, and whereas we consider the interests of the free colored people now residents of this State are to a greater or less degree identified with the success of that colony, and that it is of the utmost importance that we do obtain correct information of all matters connected therewith, it is therefore,

Resolved, that we whose names are hereunto affixed, being free persons of color, natives and residents of the State of Maryland, do form ourselves into a Society for the sole purpose of obtaining and circulating among our friends correct information respecting the above described settlements in Western Africa, and we do agree to adopt the following rules and regulations for the future guidance of said Society.

Rule 1st. This Society shall be called the Govanstown Society of Inquiry, formed for the sole purpose of obtaining correct information relating to the political and religious advantages said to be enjoyed by such free persons of color who may emigrate to, and settle in the above described colony.

Rule 2nd. The officers of this Society shall be as follows, viz—one President, two Vice Presidents, and one Corresponding Secretary.

Rule 3d. This Society shall have no funds, consequently, no Treasurer.—The only qualification for membership shall be, the signing this instrument.

Rule 4th. Should necessary expenses at times be incurred by any member of the Society in pursuance of its object, the same shall be liquidated by its members at the next regular meeting.

Rule 5th. No correspondence of this Society shall be considered official unless executed by the Corresponding Secretary or other officers of the same.

Rule 6th. There shall be one stated meeting of this Society every year, unless otherwise directed by the officers of this Society; at which yearly meetings the Corresponding Secretary shall report in writing all transactions

in his possession relating to the object of this Society; also addresses may be delivered or read by members, or other persons that may be present, in reference to the object of said Society.

Rule 7th. Any free person of color, native or resident of this State, can become a member of this Society by signing this Constitution.

Rule 8th. The stated meetings of this Society shall be on every 4th of July, unless otherwise directed by the officers of the Society.

Rule 9th. Any person may cease to be a member of this Society by giving intimation of the same, either verbal or written, at any stated meeting.

Rule 10th. The officers of this Society shall be governed by the Rules usual in Social Societies.

Members' Names affixed.

Isaac Foreman,	J. Ennis,
William Jones,	George Dutton,
Hezekiah Irimos,	Maria Jones,
William Johnston,	J. Smith,
William Williams,	Frances Williams,
Anthony Wood, (Cape Palmas, Liberia,)	Rebecca Taylor,
David Williams, (Harford County, Md,)	Abigail Foreman,
Garrison Draper, Baltimore,	Susanna Giles,
Lloyd Jackson,	Charlotte Kennal.

On motion, *resolved unanimously*, That J. FOREMAN be the President, and David Williams, of Harford County, its Vice President, and Anthony Wood, of Cape Palmas, Liberia, 2d Vice President, and Garrison Draper, No. 43 Forrest street, Baltimore City, Corresponding Secretary.

After which the meeting adjourned.

Govanstown, Oct. 6th, 1844.

In an appeal to the Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in behalf of missions, contained in the last No. of the Christian Advocate and Journal, we find the following touching passage respecting Africa.

AFRICA, bleeding, degraded Africa, was never so rich with promise. The incidents which have been recorded by the superintendent of the African mission, and recently published, are of the most thrilling character. Ethiopia is literally stretching out her hands to God! At least *twenty additional missionaries* could now be advantageously employed in that mission, if the board could command the means, and if the bishops had the men. As to men, we are happy to say that several coloured preachers of good character are now ready to go to Africa. God is now stirring up the spirits of that class of men who seem, so far as we can judge, the appropriate instruments to carry the glad tidings of salvation to the nations and tribes in the interior, which are now anxiously waiting to listen to "the God-palaver," which is as happily adapted to the condition and wants of the untutored African as it is to those who enjoy the blessings of civilization. Did Jesus, in the days of his flesh, have "compassion on the multitude, because they were faint and scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd," and does he now despise the lost "sheep in the wilderness?" Surely not. This voice comes to every Christian heart with the freshness of originality—the authority of a divine call from heaven. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few. PRAY ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth LABORERS into his harvest." And while we see our prayers answered—our coloured brethren standing forth and saying, *Here are we,*

send us—shall the *means* to send them be wanting? Shall the work be retarded? Shall the regeneration of Africa be delayed for want of the small amount of means which is indispensable? No! God forbid—let us hear the response from the east, west, north, and south—*it shall not be!* The hungry poor spread over the sandy deserts, the sunny hills, and the verdant vales; and ensconced in the deep, dark, dense forests of the land of Ham, *shall have the bread of life.* And to this response the missionary board will answer back again, AMEN—and will, with all, send up to the great Head of the Church a fresh tribute of gratitude and praise. But we must restrain our feelings. The subject is thrilling—the interest is overwhelming; but after this mere glance, we must leave our brethren to make up a just estimate of it, and pass on.

GEORGE PECK,
JOHN DEMPSTER,
D. P. KIDDER.

GEORGE LANE,
CHARLES PITMAN,

The following address was once published in the old form of the Journal, but we believe we shall be excused, for want of novel matter, for again presenting it to our readers. Independent of its possessing the power and vigour which usually characterise the productions of the author's pen, it contains many important historical sketches which are well worth preserving.

Extract from a Speech delivered before the Kentucky Colonization Society, 6th January, 1831, by the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge.

The scheme of African colonization, as exhibited by our national society and its various auxiliaries, is a most noble conception. It is a stupendous plan—spanning the Atlantic, and encircling in its wide embrace a nation of slaves, and a continent of heathens.

Africa is classed as one of the great divisions of the earth, and is a vast peninsular continent, extending from the 37th degree of north, to about the 34th degree of south latitude; and from the 17th degree of west, to the 51st degree of east longitude. Its greatest length is about five thousand miles, and its greatest breadth more than four thousand. Considering its peculiarly advantageous situation, it is surprising that, in all ages, it has been comparatively so little known by the rest of the world; for standing, as it were, in a central position, between the other three quarters, it affords a much more ready communication with Europe, Asia, and America, than they do with each other. It is opposite to Europe along the Mediterranean, whose shores were the nursery of our race, in a line from east to west, for almost a thousand miles, the distance being seldom one hundred miles, and never that many leagues. It is over against Asia for a distance of one thousand three hundred miles, the whole length of the Red sea, whose breadth sometimes does not exceed fifteen miles, and seldom one hundred and fifty. Its coast for two thousand miles, lies opposite to America, at a distance of from five hundred to seven hundred leagues, if we include the islands; whereas America is scarce any where nearer to Europe than one thousand leagues, nor to Asia, except in the inhospitable climate of Kamschatka, than two thousand five hundred leagues.

At a period to which profane history does not reach, but on which the word of God sheds its holy light, Africa was planted by the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah. Cush settled in Lower Egypt, and from him were descended the ancient Æthiopians, known to us as the Nubians and Abyssinians, and embracing, also, those unknown nations inhabiting the equatorial

regions of that continent. Misraim peopled what was known to the ancients as the Thebais, Hermopolis, Memphis, and the Delta of the Nile—to us, as Upper and Lower Egypt. From him also were descended, among other people of Africa, the inhabitants of Colchis, the ancestors of the warlike Philistines, whose descendants, until this day, if learned men are to be credited, have occupied so large a space on the page of history. Phut peopled Lybia and Mauritania, embracing the kingdom of Fez, the deserts, Algiers, and other portions. From these, with such additions as emigration and frequent conquest have given, it is probable that all the nations of Africa, however divided, mixed, or dispersed, originally came.

Agenor, an Egyptian, founded the Phenecian commonwealth and the republic of Tyre. Cadmus, the son of Agenor, founded the republic of Thebes, and introduced the use of letters into Greece. Cecrops, at the head of an Egyptian colony, founded the Athenian state, and gave laws to the barbarous hordes of Attica. If profane tradition is to be credited, these and other colonies from Africa, were driven out from their native regions by the first of the shepherd kings, (who were themselves the Amelekites, descendants of Canaan, another son of Ham,) who devastated Egypt at the head of two hundred and forty thousand warriors, and established at Tanais the seat of that empire, under whose iron sway the chosen people of God groaned, under a despotism so bitter in its progress, so awful in its overthrow. There are several reflections here, which wonderfully illustrate upon this fated race, the vicissitudes which belong to all that is human. They who gave to our ancestors the first model of those institutions which deserve to be called free, have the longest bowed down under insupportable oppression. They who gave to Europe the first knowledge of the arts, and of human letters, have been shrouded in the longest and deepest intellectual darkness. They who, in the career of resistless victory, first established the principle of national, perpetual, and hereditary slavery, have the sorest, and the most unpitied, wept under that deep unmitigated curse.

Certain portions of Africa were, as early as any other regions, erected into regular communities, after the re-peopling the earth by the descendants of Noah. That some of those communities very early attained to a high degree of cultivation, wealth, and power, there is abundant evidence in profane history, in the Holy Scriptures, and in those extraordinary monuments of taste and magnificence, which placed beyond the farthest verge of knowledge, and as it were, beside its regular current, yet remain the wonder and astonishment of mankind. That their progress in immorality and crime, was equal to their advance in civilization, their remains no doubt. He who has dwelt much on such subjects, may consider this as in no way different from the ordinary course of events, and as accounting well enough for many of the calamities which have befallen them in subsequent ages. I dispute not with philosophy; but there is another view of the matter—and I would that philosophy were more frequently enticed to such contemplations—which has appeared to me most solemn and striking. Egypt was the most powerful of the kingdoms of Africa for many ages. As it stood on the threshold of the only entrance to that continent accessible to the ancients, and was itself the medium of all interior communication with it; as its boundaries, if well defined at all, were not accurately known to the nations of Asia and Europe; as their knowledge of her surrounding, tributary, and allied states was still less accurate; as it was the uniform habit of all ancient conquerors, of whom Egypt produced many, to manifest the most extravagant pretensions to grandeur and empire; in fine, from a variety of such considerations, it is manifest to every scholar, that when the ancients speak of Egypt, their meaning is generally to be understood as of a country

vastly more extensive, than we, with our better knowledge, would attach to that term. If indeed we should frequently understand them as meaning all Africa known to them, we should not, perhaps, be far from the correct view of the subject.

At a period in her history scarcely less prosperous than any that had preceded it, and when she stood forth famous in arts and arms, the queen of nations; when there appeared beforehand, no probability of great reverses, and the prince who filled her throne, boasted, as we are informed by Herodotus, 'that no God could deprive him of his kingdom; just then, when it would appear to human observation that the mercies of God were poured out profusely on Africa, his decree went forth against her: 'From the tower of Syene, even unto the border of Ethiopia,' the curse of the Most High clave unto the land. The seed of his chosen had been enticed and betrayed; they had reposed upon her, and been pierced with many sorrows. 'Thou art like a young lion of the nations'—'I will spread my net over thee'—'I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations'—'I will make many people amazed at thee'—'Ashur is there and all her company'—'There is Elam and all her multitude'—'There is Mesheck, Tubal, and all her multitude'—'There is Edom her kings, and all her princes'—'There be the princes of the north, all of them, and all the Zidonians'—'It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations.' For more than two thousand years the annals of every people attest the fulfilment of this remarkable prophecy. Conquered by the Persians, under Cambyzes, within fifty years after this prediction; conquered again by the Macedonians; subjugated and pillaged by the Romans, and made the theatre of many of their bloodiest wars; overwhelmed by the Saracens; subjugated, scourged, and made desolate by the Mamelukes; devastated by the Turks; overrun by the French; for a hundred generations made the battle field of nations, and the constant victim of them all; and worse than all, her children, for centuries together, swept into distant and hopeless bondage—scattered and sifted throughout the universe, as it is this day.

The discovery of America, which was destined to exert so extensive and so benign an influence upon the European race, the descendants of Japhet added increased bitterness to the cup of affliction which seemed already overflowing for the children of Ham. The first adventurers to the western continent and the islands along the Atlantic coast, without the least remorse, reduced the simple and ignorant aborigines to a servitude so monstrous, that in the island of Hispaniola alone, from the year of 1508 to 1517, the Indians were reduced, by the brutal oppression under which they groaned, from sixty thousand to fourteen thousand souls; and the extinction of this miserable remnant was hastened by more aggravated calamities. You will observe that this wholesale butchery was perpetrated under the same execrable pretence of political necessity, under which every public crime which has disgraced our race, has found its constant defence. It was sanctioned by a formal decree of the king of Spain, 'that the servitude of the Indians was warranted by the laws both of God and man.' I have no intention of entering into details which are not necessary to the complete understanding of the subject before me. And perhaps enough has been said to show how easy was the transition from Indian to African subjugation, from crime perpetrated on a feeble and nearly extinguished race, to similar crime inflicted on one more robust, more degraded, and therefore more suitable to the purposes of an insatiable rapacity. Barthelemy de las Cases, bishop of Chiapa, heading the little band of ecclesiastics who still recognized the obligations of justice and humanity to the Indians, beset the Spanish throne with prayers

in their behalf, until by a fatality, singular and most unhappy, he saw their chains, which it was the object of his life to break, rivetted forever; and those whom he had designated, in the madness of his zeal, as their substitutes in wretchedness, became only their fellows in slavery. As early as 1503, a few negroes had been sent to the new world. In 1511, Ferdinand permitted their importation in large numbers. Charles the Fifth, on his accession to the throne, rejecting what was wise and humane in the plans of Las Cases, and adopting so much of them as was abhorrent to every virtuous feeling, granted an exclusive patent to one of his Flemish favourites, to import four thousand negroes into America. The patent was sold to certain Genoese merchants for twenty-five thousand ducats. The Portuguese had found the trade in slaves, which had been long abolished in Europe, one of the first advantages derived from the discoveries in Africa. The Genoese, under the patent of the emperor, found no difficulty in procuring the victims of their avarice, and were the first who brought into regular form that commerce in the souls and bodies of men, between Africa and America, which inflicts, of all things else, the most indelible stain on the character of mankind.

The first settlements which were made by the English on the continent of North America, were under the auspices of corporations, or individuals, to whom extensive grants had been made by the English crown. The company that settled the colony of Virginia had monopolized its commerce up to the year 1620. In that year, this monopoly was given up, and the trade open. A Dutch vessel from the coast of Guinea, availing itself of the commercial liberty which prevailed, brought into James river twenty Africans, who were immediately purchased as slaves. An ordinance that all heathen persons might be held as slaves, and that their descendants, although christians, might be continued in slavery, sealed on this continent the doom of the wretched African. Such was the inception of slavery in the United States. Such was the first settlement amongst us, of an oppressed and suffering race, which has augmented by a very rapid propagation, and continual importation in somewhat more than two centuries, from twenty souls, to two millions. Virginia, the most ancient of our commonwealths, was the first of them to lend herself to the oppression of these unhappy men. Holland, who had, within forty years, emancipated herself from a foreign despotism, used the large resources which grew up under the shade of her recovered liberty, to deliver over an unoffending people to hopeless bondage; and, that the climax of cupidity and turpitude might be aptly adjusted, the whole matter was concluded in the name of christianity. ^o

Men were not so slow in discovering the evils of the unnatural condition of society, whose origin among us I have been attempting to disclose. As early as 1698, a settlement of Quakers near Germantown, in Pennsylvania, publicly expressed their opinion of the unrighteousness of human bondage. And from that day till the present, there have flourished in our country, men of large and just views, who have not ceased to pour over this subject a stream of clear and noble truth, and to importune their country, by every motive of duty and advantage, to wipe from her escutcheon the stain of human tears. They have not lived in vain. In better times their counsels will be heard. When the day comes, and come it surely will, when, throughout this broad empire not an aspiration shall go up to the throne of God, that does not emanate from a freeman's heart, they will live in story, the apostles of that hallowed reign of peace, and men will quote their names to adorn the highest lessons of wisdom, and enforce, by great examples, the practice of high and virtuous actions.

With the increase of the number of slaves, became more apparent the injuries inflicted by slavery itself, upon every interest associated with it. The

voice of reason and humanity began to be listened to, when that of interest uttered its sounds in unison. What individuals had long foreseen, some of our communities began at length to apprehend and provide against. A duty on the importation of slaves was laid by New York, in 1753, by Pennsylvania, in 1762, and by New Jersey, in 1769. Virginia, the first to introduce them, was also the earliest in setting the example of their exclusion. In 1778, in the midst of civil war, she put upon the pages of her history, an enduring record of her respect for those rights of other men, for which she was freely pouring out her own blood, by prohibiting the introduction of slaves into any of her ports. In 1780, Pennsylvania passed a law for the gradual abolition of slavery, which has the merit of being the earliest legislative proceeding of the kind in any country. All the states, north and east of Maryland, have since passed similar laws. On the adoption of the federal constitution, congress was authorized to prohibit, at the end of twenty years, the importation of negroes into any part of the United States; and the power was exercised at the appointed time. No slaves have, therefore, been legally brought into this nation since the year 1808.

After the close of our revolutionary war, many negroes, who fled from their masters, and sought protection with the British armies during its progress, were scattered through the Bahama islands and Nova Scotia. Others had found their way to England. In 1787, a private company in England sent four hundred of them, with their own consent, to Sierra Leone, on the western coast of Africa. About five years afterwards, twelve hundred of those from Nova Scotia were transported to Sierra Leone by the British government. The maroons, from Jamaica, were removed thither in 1805. The hostility of the French, the opposition of the natives, the selection of a situation which proved to be unfortunate in many local particulars, and perhaps more than either, the heterogeneous materials of which that settlement was composed, for some years, retarded its growth. All these difficulties, however, have been surmounted. That colony contains more than twenty thousand souls, of whom more than three-fourths are re-captured Africans, whose rapacious owners had destined them for foreign bondage. Towns are reared up, churches and schools established, agriculture has become a settled pursuit, and society has put on a regular and stable appearance.

For some years anterior to 1816, the project of colonizing the free blacks of this country in Africa, had occupied the serious consideration of individuals in several parts of the Union. The rapid accumulation of free negroes, who amounted at that period, to two hundred and ten thousand, to which number they had grown from sixty thousand, in twenty-six years, became a subject of general anxiety; in some of the states laws were passed annexing the condition of banishment to emancipation. The idea of colonizing them was probably first suggested in this country from the success which attended the establishment at Sierra Leone. It was known, moreover, that the Portuguese, the French, the Danes, and the English, had established white settlements along the coast of Africa, from the Cape de Verd to the Cape of Good Hope. More than a century ago the French had established a post on the Senegal, four hundred miles from its mouth. At Congo, the Portuguese had grown into a considerable colony. At the southern extremity of Africa, the Dutch and English had spread over a country larger than the southern peninsula of Europe. It was not then a question requiring serious debate, whether America could do what many nations had done before. In 1802, Mr. Jefferson, then president of the United States, in compliance with the request of the Virginia legislature, communicated by Governor Monroe, entered into negotiations, which proved unsuccessful, with the

Sierra Leone company, and afterwards with Portugal, to procure a situation for an American colony of blacks in Africa. The project continued to gain strength, until, on the 21st day of December, 1816, the first public meeting to form a colonization society in this country, was held at Washington city; and shortly afterwards the American society was established, under the patronage of many of the most distinguished citizens of this nation.

Formed under such auspices, at such a crisis, and for such an object, this society has steadily pursued its onward course, the object of many a bitter sarcasm, of various and contradictory accusation, of flippant and most impertinent contempt, and of grave and deep reproach. Full of the noble ardour which belongs to generous enterprise, it has triumphed at every step, and won its way to the confidence and applause of men. It numbers over one hundred and sixty auxiliary societies; eleven states have, by their legislatures, recommended it to the patronage of congress; and all the leading sects of evangelical christians in the United States, have, through their highest ecclesiastical tribunals, testified their cordial approbation of its operations. The colony established at Liberia, under its auspices, occupies a fertile, and to the black constitution, a salubrious region, extending from Gallinas river to the territory Kroo Seltra, a distance of two hundred and eighty miles along the western coast of Africa, and from twenty to thirty miles in the interior. About one thousand eight hundred colonists, who have been sent there from the United States, with about half as many more recaptured Africans, constitute an independent, republican, and christian community, in the midst of that benighted land. The rites of our holy religion are regularly observed, and its precepts as well obeyed as among ourselves. Schools are regularly conducted for the education of the youth of the colony, and many children of the natives are also training in them. All the institutions of a young, though very flourishing community, are in a succesful operation. I have recently seen several numbers of a weekly newspaper, published by a free man of colour, at Monrovia, containing notices of the various interests which indicate a well established and prosperous little state. Notices of popular elections, of the condition of the military force and the public defence, of public roads opened and repaired, of the improvement and transfer of estates, of mercantile prosperity and commercial enterprise, of the little incidents of social life, and what is not less striking and indicative of the state of the people, literary notices, and light efforts in the belles lettres, for the gratification of the popular taste. Such traits as these impress us, not less strongly with the existing condition of affairs at Liberia, than those interesting details of its growth, prosperity and general advancement, which are regularly given to the American public from authentic sources, and which I could not now recapitulate, without an inexcusable trespass upon your patience. The result of the whole is full to the point, that one great object of the colonization society has been completely attained. A colony has been actually established, possessing all the elements of permanent and boundless prosperity. The germ of a great and cultivated nation has already taken root in the midst of Africa. The leaven of christianity is already mixed up with the mass of her dark and absurd superstitions. How much feebler was the origin of all those astonishing triumphs of civilization, by which the little states of Greece stamped her indelible name upon the very front of human glory! How small, compared with the actual condition of Liberia, was the beginning of the Roman state—stern, wise, and unparalleled as she was—whose power overshadowed the face of the whole earth, and transmuted every thing into the likeness of itself! And who shall say that, when two centuries have passed away, the continent of Africa shall not behold millions of free and christian men, lift-

ing up their hearts in thanksgiving to the God of their fathers, and in grateful recollections of the pilgrims of Mesurado, in like manner as we cherish the recollection of the landing at Plymouth Rock.

The American Colonization Society has probably succeeded to the extent of its original expectation. It proposed to establish a colony of free blacks, from the United States, with their own consent, in Africa; and thus to show by the fact, the possibility of removing that population from the United States, in such a manner as would decidedly improve the condition of those unhappy persons, and greatly ameliorate the state of society among ourselves. It was originally objected, that the plan would be rendered impracticable at its threshold, by the impossibility of procuring the emigrants. Experience has shown that many more were always desirous of emigrating than the society had the means of removing. At this time not less than three thousand individuals would gladly remove to Liberia, if the necessary funds could be procured. It was also objected, that the expense of removal would be so great as to prevent its being carried to any useful extent. This was clearly absurd, unless it had been shown that it was necessarily more costly to remove a free negro to Africa from America, than a slave to America from Africa; and that our national resources were smaller when our population was ten millions, than when it was three millions. The experiment has shown that emigrants may be sent out for twenty dollars each; a sum equal in value to about three months labour of an adult male slave in most of the slave-holding states. It was farther objected, that the unhealthiness of the climate was an insurmountable obstacle in the way of colonizing any part of Africa. The facts stated in a former part of this address, the accounts of all travellers who have visited that continent—especially of Mungo Park, who saw more of its interior than all other Europeans—and the uniform experience of the American colony, leave no room to doubt that the region of country owned by it, is pleasant, and to the black constitution extremely salubrious. It was also asserted, that if all these obstacles were overcome, and a colony established, it would be unable to support itself against the native tribes in its neighbourhood. This cavil also has been answered by experience. In 1822, when the settlement was weak and but recently established, it was fully competent to carry on, and terminate with success, a war with the native tribes. The result of that war was so decidedly favourable to the colony, that the colonial agent, Mr. Ashmun, in his report for 1825, says, 'our influence over them is unbounded, it is more extensive than I dare, at this early period, risk my character for veracity by asserting. But I beg leave to refer, at least, to facts already communicated, to our military expeditions into the heart of the country uninterrupted, to our purchase of the Saint Paul's, admission into the Grand Bassa, and acquisition of the Sesters. On several occasions of alarm from the interior, the whole population of the country has been ready to throw itself into our arms for protection.' What adds greatly to the security of the colony, both from internal and foreign enemies, is the connection of the agent of our government for re-captured Africans, with the affairs of the establishment. That agent is also the society's colonial agent; the re-captured Africans of whom he has the charge, by authority of an act of congress, form a part of the colony, and their protection of necessity involves its security. Mr. Stockton of the United States' Navy, was one of the signers of the treaty, by which a part of the territory was ceded to the society. Capt. Spence built a fort on the Cape, at the public expense, supplied it with guns, and the American flag was hoisted on its battlements. He, also, left an armed schooner for the better protection of the colony. The agent for re-captured Africans, as already stated, is appointed by the authority of our government, and is supported by it.

We have then a practical illustration of the manner in which three hundred thousand free negroes may be removed from among us, and planted in comfort and security in the land of their ancestors. Almost the entire voice of the country proclaims that object to be worthy of our highest efforts, whether we consider what is due from a christian nation to the victims of its own avarice and oppression, or what is necessary in a wise people towards providing for their own security, and the peace of their offspring.

If I were to attempt to draw a picture of the sufferings and degradation of this multitude of beings, reduced to that condition by our own policy and social state, I should only repeat in your hearing what has been often said. If I should set out to develop the ample means, and competent legal authority residing in our different governments, state and national, to redress evils which exceed by far the most forcible descriptions of them which have fallen under my notice, I should have to recapitulate to you, those views and arguments which are already familiar to the public. On none of these points will I detain you; but leaving them to rest on the able expositions from a great variety of sources, which are accessible to every one who desires such information, I will pass on to other considerations, which grow out of the operations of the society. Although they may not have entered largely into its original design, some of them have a higher interest than the direct, primary object for which it was organized. He who has considered the removal of our free blacks to Africa, as the ultimate point of this noble enterprise, has taken a very inadequate view of a subject of singular interest and almost unlimited extent. The blessings to Africa, to America, and to the whole world, which will follow the accomplishment of the simple and practicable scheme of the society, cannot now be grasped by any human intelligence; but enough can be foreseen to commend it to our earnest and zealous support.

The first of what may be called the collateral effects, attending the fulfilment in some good degree, of the national hopes, to which the successful operations of this society have given life and vigour, to which I will direct your notice, is the political and intellectual regeneration of Africa. One of the most uniform and curious facts in the history of man, is his constant propensity to migrate. Hardly one example can be found, of a nation locating the permanent seat of its empire in the native land of its inhabitants. Every people of which we have any account has been a nation of wanderers; some by peaceful acquisition of unoccupied regions, some by purchase, most by the power of their victorious bands. Driven out by the wants of, too dense a population; fleeing from the various calamities by which every region has at some period been visited; persecuted children of God; opposed disciples of liberty; incited by the love of gold, and the still more unappeasable lust of conquest; every motive, in short, has operated to make men wanderers, and all nations colonists. With the tribes that have gone out in all ages, have gone out also the manners, the social institutions, the tastes, the literature, and the knowledge of their country. Behold the overruling providence of God! America, the freest, the wisest, the most practical of nations, is pouring back her streams of liberty and knowledge, upon the most degraded of them all. Behold the noble retribution! She received slaves—she returns freemen! They came savages—they return laden with the fruits of civilization. And though they earned in tears, and anguish the more intense that it found no utterance, every boon they can carry back to their afflicted country; yet, in the day of her regeneration, will Africa forget the wrongs inflicted on her for centuries together, in gratitude for the distant, but sacred, recompense. We can look back through buried ages, to the monuments of her power and grandeur, to the triumph of her renowned

captains, to the early cultivation of her people, and the rich contributions of her sons to the stores of ancient knowledge in all its multiplied departments; and we can well imagine the rapture with which her awakened sons will dwell on the tale of her departed glories, and rekindle in her breast that sacred flame which ages of wo had extinguished. We can look onward, as upon our own country, and see the lessons of wisdom, and liberty, and public strength, and social order, speaking forth in the acts of living men; and we can adequately conceive how confusion, and imbecility, and civil darkness, will flee away from the land into which the knowledge and the practice of such institutions shall be transplanted. These things we can foresee. But we cannot tell how deeply the seed we are planting may shoot its roots into a kindly soil. We know not how lofty may be its trunk at the meridian of its perfect strength. We cannot tell how many children of affliction may gather round it, and be secure. We see not how far its shadow may extend over nations that we now know of only by their crimes. But we know that we are acting well, and that the issues are in the hands of Him who is mighty to redeem.

I do not doubt that one of the surest, and certainly the most important, effects of the colonization of Africa, on the proposed plan, will be the conversion of its inhabitants to christianity. From the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, that country is possessed by pagans. The Mahomedans occupy Egypt and the Barbary coast. The people of Abyssinia, or Upper Ethiopia, are called christians, but they retain many pagan and Jewish rites. In the north of Africa are a few Jews, who manage what trade that region is possessed of; and in the south of Africa there is a small colony of French Huguenots, planted nearly a century and a half ago. There is a moral fitness in the thought, and it is deeply solemn also, that we, who have contributed so largely to the degradation of Africa, and aided so fully in heaping upon her sons the direst calamities to which flesh is heir, should also be the instruments of bestowing on her the costliest gifts and richest blessings our nature can receive. The christian public cannot fail to perceive, in all these operations, the hand of that presiding Providence, which, having permitted the wretched African to be enslaved, that he might be christianized, now demands his restoration that he may christianize his brethren. The time is fast approaching when the earth and all the fulness of it shall become the large inheritance of those, to whom it appertains by the promise of the eternal God. The reign of his own glorious kingdom is almost at hand; and when his people saw, even after, the approach of its hallowed dawn, a new spirit fell upon them. They have arisen to do their Master's work, and to possess what is their own. You see them in the islands of the most distant seas. Their feet are in the midst of the pathless wilderness. In the great city, amid the busy haunts of men, and in the desolate abodes of wretchedness and squalid want, you behold the traces of their ardent labours. The Arab in the desert hears his unwritten dialect made the vehicle of salvation. The wandering hordes, whose names civilization is not able to recount, find their tents become the abode of those who are worthy to have been the associates of the apostles. The Brahmin by the Ganges throws aside the chain of his accursed casts. The savage of our own wilderness forgets the wrongs which the fierce white man heaps upon his smitten race, and listens to the still small voice, which directs him to a higher and surer hope. The mariner, in his trackless wanderings, rears above his perilous home, the unwonted banner, the emblem of his return to God. The way of the Kings of the East is drying up apace; and the scattered and afflicted seed of Abraham turn their longing hearts again towards the mount of Olivet and the city of the Great King. Nine millions of copies of the

Holy Scriptures have been distributed through the world, in one hundred and sixty languages and dialects, by the instrumentality of about four thousand five hundred organized societies. Forty-five missionary presses have been established; forty missionary colleges put in operation; and six hundred and fifty ordained missionaries, aided by about three thousand assistants, are operating throughout the world, at more than five hundred and forty foreign stations. There are three hundred thousand children in the missionary schools. Fifty thousand persons converted from paganism, are members of the christian churches, and it is computed that more than five thousand are annually converted to the service of the living God. Four hundred thousand heathens have renounced idolatry; and in ten years the Gospel has been preached, at the various missions, to not less than four millions of adult persons. One hundred and sixty millions of tracts have been thrown into circulation; and there are over two millions of Sabbath scholars under training throughout the world. It is an era of vast and magnificent christian enterprise. Every engine which the most ardent and intrepid piety could put in requisition, is wielded against the kingdom of darkness, and it already totters to its predestinated overthrow. Africa is partaking of this noble work; and she will partake still more largely. The little band at Liberia, who are spreading over the wilderness around them, a strange aspect of life and beauty, are in every sense a missionary station. Every ship freighted from our shores with their suffering kindred, will be freighted also with the heralds of the cross. You will see the light breaking in upon one and another dark habitation of cruelty. The night of heathenism will depart. One tribe after another will come to the light of Zion, and to the brightness of her rising. Ethiopia will awake, and rise from the dust, and look abroad on the day, and stretch her hands out to God. The light will still spread, and kindle, and brighten, till all the fifty millions of Africa are brought to the glorious liberty of the sons of God!

The civil, intellectual and religious cultivation of a people, carries with it the possession of all the indispensable ingredients to high national happiness and virtue; and is scarcely consistant with the prevalence of those brutal and inhuman practices which exist among savage and heathen nations. Amongst the present crimes of Africa, there is one encouraged and shared by nations calling themselves civilized, so horrible and atrocious, that its certain extirpation, by the means we have been noticing, would alone be sufficient to commend the American Colonization Society to the support of every enlightened man. I have already presented you with a brief account of the origin of the slave trade, so far as it was connected with our subject. There are some crimes so revolting in their nature, that the just observance of the decencies of speech deprive us of the only epithets which are capable of depicting their enormity. Every well regulated heart is smitten with horror at the bare idea of their perpetration; and we are uncertain whether most to loathe at the claim of those who habitually commit them to companionship with human nature, or to marvel that the unutterable wrath of heaven doth not scathe and blast them in the midst of their enormities. Let the father look upon the dawning intelligence of the boy that prattles around his knee, the pride of his fond heart, and the hope and stay of his honest name; and then, if he can, let him picture him in distant bondage, the fountain of his affections dried up, the light of knowledge extinguished in his mind, his manly and upright spirit broken by oppression, and his free person and just proportions marred and lacerated by the incessant scourge. Let the husband look upon the object in whose sacred care he has 'garnered up his heart,' and on the little innocent who draws the fountain of its life from her pure breast, recalling, as he gazes on one and the other, the freshness and

the strength of his early and ardent love; and then, if he be able, let him picture those objects in comparison with which all that earth has to give is valueless in his eyes, torn from him by violence, basely exchanged for gold, like beasts at the shambles, bent down under unpitied sorrows, their persons polluted, and their pure hearts corrupted—hopeless and unpitied slaves, to the rude caprice and brutal passions of those we blush to call men. Let him turn from these spectacles, and look abroad on the heritage where his lot has been cast, glad and smiling under the profuse blessings which heaven has poured on it; let him look back on the even current of a life overflowing with countless enjoyments, and before him on a career full of anticipated triumphs, and lighted by the effulgence of noble and virtuous deeds, the very close of which looks placid, under the weight of years made venerable by generous and useful actions, and covered by the gratitude and applause of admiring friends; let the man-stealer come upon him, and behold the wreck of desolation! Shame, disgrace, infamy; the blighting of all hopes, the withering of all joys; long unnoticed woe, untended poverty, a dishonoured name, an unwept death, a forgotten grave; all, and more than all, are in these words, *he is a slave!* He who can preserve the even current of his thoughts in the midst of such reflections, may have some faint conception of the miseries which the slave trade has inflicted on mankind. I am unable to state with accuracy, the number of the victims of this horrible traffic; but if the least dependence can be placed on the statements of those persons, who have given the most attention to the subject, with the best means of information, it unquestionably exceeds ten millions of human beings exported by violence and fraud from Africa. This appalling mass of crime and suffering has every atom of it been heaped up before the presence of enlightened men, and in the face of a Holy God, by nations boasting of their civilization, and pretending to respect the dictates of christianity. The mind is overwhelmed at the magnitude of such atrocity, and the heart sickens at the contemplation of such an amount of human anguish and despair.

This trade has been abolished by the laws of every civilized nation, except Portugal and Brazil. Our own national act for that purpose, passed on the 2nd day of March, 1807, and preceded by twenty-three days, a similar act by Great Britain, achieved by the friends of humanity in that realm, after a struggle of twenty years. Acts of mere prohibition, however, were found unequal to the suppression of crimes which had been maturing for more than three hundred years. After several amendments to the law of 1807, it was enacted on the 15th of May, 1820, that every person proved to be engaged in the slave trade, should be adjudged guilty of piracy, and punished with death. Here, also, our country was in the van of nations. The glory of vindicating the rights of man, on the broad principles of truth and nature, and of first assuming this noble stand against the long cherished and guilty customs of the whole world, is due to the Congress of the United States. Nor should it be forgotten that the recommendation for the passage of this law, came from a committee acting on a memorial of the American Colonization Society. Such acts unquestionably exercise a very salutary influence over those persons who might be disposed to engage in the slave trade; and are exceedingly valuable as high indications of public sentiment, and as imperishable monuments, erected by the highest authorities among men, to clear and noble principles of right. But they cannot, of themselves, effect their own benevolent purposes. After the passage of the act of 1820, it was stated on the floor of Congress, by gentlemen representing several slave-holding states, that no fewer than thirteen thousand slaves were annually smuggled into the United States. And we have undoubted authority for believing, that at least sixty thousand negroes are yearly transported

from Africa, under circumstances of as great cruelty as have ever marked that traffic. The slave trade can be no otherwise effectually abolished than by shedding a stream of moral light upon the dark regions where it flourishes, so broad as to reveal it in its naked atrocity, to all its wretched victims. Nor are there any other apparent means by which this can be effected, but the full accomplishment of the plan of African colonization.

It is generally known, that the original members of the American Colonization Society, anticipated that at some future period, the general government and some, if not all the state governments, would co-operate in their exertions for the removal of an evil which was obviously national in all its aspects, and which no private exertions were adequate to extinguish. This just expectation was expressed on the face of their original constitution, and has been constantly manifest in all their proceedings. I do not doubt that the general and state governments possess the constitutional power to make pecuniary contributions in furtherance of the objects of the society; and as it is a point heretofore very ably elucidated, I will not now trespass on your time by drawing it into discussion. Every reason which commends the scheme to the support of the people of this nation, commends it also, to the patronage of all our governments. Every motive which operates on the minds of slave holders, tending to make the colonization of the free blacks an object of interest to them, should operate in an equal degree to secure the hearty co-operation of the government of every slave-holding state. And I confess it is this view of the subject, which, as a slave-owner and a citizen of this commonwealth, appears to me, to draw it so peculiarly up to the exigencies of our situation, and to lay open before us a political moral above all others clear and explicit. We say, we are the friends of African colonization; its lesson is already precisely taught, and it only remains for us to go whither the light of its example points us.

OUR FALL EXPEDITION.

The sailing of our emigrant vessel has been postponed from the first to the fifteenth of November, in consequence of application from different sources to take emigrants from other States. Arrangements have been made to take the 37 set free by Mr. Wilson, of Kentucky, notice of which has been taken in the public papers. The Pennsylvania Colonization Society furnishes means for their transportation, through the indefatigable exertions of their Agent, the Rev. J. B. Pinney. Mr. P. also writes under date of the 26th Oct. that others may be expected to accompany them. Lt. Christopher Tompkins, of Matthews Co. Va. executor of the will of Harriet P. Tompkins, deceased, has also made liberal provision for transporting some 27 slaves, manumitted by her will, to Cape Palmas. Many others were also offered freedom on the same condition, but preferred remaining in bondage. How many are to go from this State we are unable to say, but warn all who intend going, to be on the ground as early as the fifteenth November, as there will be no further postponement.

TERMS.

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☞ All Communications intended for the Maryland Colonization Journal, or on business of the Society, should be addressed to DR. JAMES HALL, General Agent, Colonization Rooms, Post Office Building.

